

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: SALT - REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE (SALT TWO-899)

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OUTSTANDING ISSUES ON WHICH I WOULD APPRECIATE FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON SOONEST IN ORDER TO MAKE PROGRESS WITH SOV DEL:

A. ICBM DEFINITION. IN SALT TWO 882, DEL SUGGESTED ADDITION OF TWO PARAS TO ART. IV DESIGNED TO BAN NON-ICBM LAUNCHERS WHICH COULD ALSO BE USED TO LAUNCH ICBMS. THIS ADDITION SHOULD BE PART OF A PACKAGE, INCLUDING SPECIFIC CRITERIA FOR WHAT CONSTITUTES ICBM LAUNCHERS, WHICH WOULD OBVIATE NEED FOR "DEVICES WHICH CAN BE USED FOR LAUNCHING." DEL NOW RECOMMENDS AUTHORIZATION TO PURSUE THIS APPROACH.

B. NON-HEAVY VICE LIGHT ICBM (II.7, IV.3).). IN CARRYING OVER TO NEW AGREEMENT FROM THE IA THE BAN ON CONVERSION OF LAUNCHERS FOR LIGHT ICBMS TO LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS, THE US SUBSTITUTED "NON-HEAVY" FOR "LIGHT." THE US HAS ALSO USED "NON-HEAVY" IN ITS

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PROPOSED DEFINITION OF A HEAVY ICBM. THIS WAS DONE IN ORDER TO

EMPHASIZE THAT THE US DOES NOT CONSIDER THE SS-19 TO BE A "LIGHT" MISSILE AND TO ESTABLISH BASIS FOR POSSIBLE INTRODUCTION OF A "MEDIUM" CATEGORY IN SALT THREE. ASSUMING THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES THAT THERE ARE ONLY TWO CATEGORIES OF ICBMS, WHETHER THE LIGHTER OF THE TWO IS CALLED "LIGHT" OR "NON-HEAVY" IS NOT A QUESTION OF SUBSTANCE. DEL WOULD APPRECIATE AUTHORITY TO SUBSTITUTE "LIGHT" FOR "NON-HEAVY" TO BE USED AT ITS DISCRETION WHEN IT MAY BE USEFUL IN RESOLVING ISSUES RELATED TO HEAVY MISSILE DEFINITION (SUCH AS THROW-WEIGHT DEFINITION) OR HEAVY MISSILE CAP.

2. OTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUES, ON WHICH IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE GUIDANCE AVAILABLE AT THE TIME OF RESOLUTION OF THE MAJOR RELATED ISSUES, ARE THE FOLLOWING:

A. MIRV VERIFICATION. IN SALT TWO 801, DEL RECOMMENDED PROVISIONS NECESSARY FOR MIRV COUNTING IN ADDITION TO "ONCE TESTED" RULE. FOUR ELEMENTS WERE SUGGESTED: (A) "LAUNCHERS FOR" LANGUAGE IN PARA 1 OF ART. V; (B) AGREEMENT ON CURRENT TYPES OF LAUNCHERS TO BE INCLUDED IN AND EXCLUDED FROM 1320 AGGREGATE; (C) A COUNTING RULE FOR SLBM LAUNCHERS FOR FUTURE MIRVD SLBMS BY LAUNCHER TYPE; (D) INCORPORATION INTO ART. VI OF SUBSTANCE OF PARA 2 OF PROTOCOL DEALING WITH TIME AT WHICH LAUNCHERS CONVERTED TO MIRVS COUNT IN MIRV AGGREGATE.

B. DEFINITION OF CRUISE-MISSILE RANGE. DEL RECOMMENDED DEFINITION IN SALT TWO 726. THE REQUIREMENT FOR CLARIFICATION OF CRUISE-MISSILE RANGE, FOR PARA IX(A), IS INDEPENDENT OF OTHER CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES, BUT I WOULD AWAIT RESOLUTION OF THOSE ISSUES BEFORE IMPLEMENTING CONSTRUCTIONS ON DEFINITION OF CRUISE-MISSILE RANGE.

C. NON-CIRCUMVENTION/NON-TRANSFER. IN SALT 750, DEL RECOMMENDED WASHINGTON CONSIDER TURNING SOVIET NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROPOSAL TO US BENEFIT. US COULD AGREE TO SOMETHING CLOSE TO SOVIET PROPOSAL IN RETURN FOR THEIR DROPPING THEIR NON-TRANSFER PROPOSAL AND THEIR DEMAND FOR A UNILATERAL US STATEMENT ON FBS. US HAS, HOWEVER, PROMISED TO CONSULT WITH NAC BEFORE TABLING LANGUAGE AND EARLY ADDRESSAL OF THIS ISSUE WOULD BE USEFUL FROM THAT POINT OF VIEW.

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3. IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT WASHINGTON IS NOW DEVELOPING FURTHER GUIDANCE FOR ARTICLE XVII (SCC FUNCTIONS). DEL PLANS IN NEXT FEW DAYS TO SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS ON ISSUE OF ESTABLISHING DATA BASE WITH SOVIETS. DEL WILL ALSO SHORTLY SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS FOR APPROACH TO ATTACHING NUMERICAL VALUES FOR LAUNCHING WEIGHT AND THROW-WEIGHT. JOHNSON

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